[P. 162 a] Kechayi

621 192 723 Star lore.---Terms used for stars, phases of sun and moon, etc., follow:

u´pːš: sun
toiyu´ŋam u´pːš: moon (lit , night sun)
tawa´nːš: morning star
tomo´lo´o´lohi: evening star
čaya´taš: star (general)
muxe´ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls). E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.[52] When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.[53]

soiyo´lui yawačːt: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.

wate´lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."

we´čːn čano´´onːt: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best; the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 Calendar.---The year was divided into moon months (yːt u´pːš, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai ši) counted as six days. The week (šu´man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu´mčːn, seven); the old week was called ču´lupai (čo´lːpi, six).

823 Earthquake.---E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.

805 301 Snake-charm.---In the spring men and women wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune´ki).

302 382 822 192 Paint.---The colors and sources were as follows:

ho´suč: white. A clay which "the doctors got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831]

[52] One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

[53] This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

584 (ma´kši) and the boy's parents had made the betrothal ceremony for the girl, the girl's parents invited the boy in frequently for meals. The boy would then be twelve to fourteen years old. This continued for about a year, or until it was felt that the couple were ready to sleep together.

585 Then a marriage "party" (yew·nu´ša) was made by the girl's family at her home. Two large ceremonial baskets were brought; from water in these the lad and girl were each completely washed by some female member of the spouse's family. They donned new and ornamental clothes. This took place in the morning. A feast, provided by the girl's family, followed. During the day games were played, and in the evening doctors entertained with dancing. Circular dancing (soi´wi·ša) and the hand game (we·helaoča) lasted all night. The couple slept together in the girl's home.

589 Marriage was always extra-moiety,[67] but this rule did not permit cross cousins to marry even though they were necessarily of opposite moieties. Lineage relationships on both sides of the family were the prime consideration. E.M. said sometimes cousins had [835] intercourse if the boy had no respect for the girl, but this did not lead to marriage.

595 A man often married two sisters, and "nearly all" men had relations with women in different localities (thus the common parentage of E.M. and B.W.). There was no special term to distinguish wife from mistress, and these concepts were not socially defined in Yokuts culture. Some terms of the marriage relationship are: lo´wit (husband), yi´win (wife or any woman one slept with), yawe´ni·š (to have intercourse), yew·nuša (marriage party or ceremony).[68] During pregnancy a man addressed his [551] wife as ga´lwat. Under normal conditions neither spouse used a vocative term of address or personal names.

606 The relations between child and parent-in-law were restricted. A man never went close to or addressed his mother-in-law, and his father-in-law he spoke to only when absolutely necessary. When he did so he used, not the term for "father-in-law" nor the father-in-law's name, but the term ma'ak. The same restrictions and form of address were used by the young wife with respect to her parents-in-law, 607 with the sexes reversed, of course. A man "treated his brother-in-law like a real brother"; they went hunting and fishing together, sharing their catch. A man addressed his sister-in-law "only to make jokes or to tell little stories [or incidents]." The same, reversed, held true for the girl. The nature of these jokes was [831] undefined; E.M. denied that they were specifically obscene.

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[67] There is one exception in the genealogies.

[68] The term also is applied to the modern legal or church ceremony.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 188 b] Chuckchansi

352 531 854 831 The top was bound with the water plant root. About four inches from the top was a horizontal band, woven with monoxil, indicating the sex of the child: a boy had a zigzag or arrowhead design, a girl contiguous diamonds.[105] Sometimes red or black roots were woven into designs across the bottom; these, too, showed the sex of the occupant.

352 854 The first cradle had a band hoop extending forward over the infant's head. There were no fastenings for a tumpline, because a new baby was not carried on the back, but in the arms. "They were afraid to carry a new baby on the back because its eyes might fall out," said N.W., laughing. Also it would have flabby hanging cheeks.

The baby was held in place on the cradle by means of a milkweed string band about two inches wide which passed through loops along the cradle sides. For a young baby lying on its back, the band was not drawn very tight; [237] for an older one carried upright, the lashing prevented movement of any kind. Under the lashing the baby lay wrapped in a rabbitskin blanket. Today a little pillow, mattress, or a cloth baby blanket are used on the cradle under the infant. A child was kept on a cradle until it could walk and talk. Confinement in the cradle is not continued as long as formerly: Lillian thought children remain babyish if kept in the cradle too long.[106]

As the baby grew it was transferred to second and third cradles, the last being some thirty-five inches long. All were of the same construction as the first save that the hood was fan-shaped, not a mere hoop. On a Chukchansi cradle seen by Thrall, the head was woven as an integral part of the supporting hoop. The upper or back edge of the fan had corners which were merely tied to the top edge of the frame with milkweed string. [482] Large cradles had a tumpline attached for carriage on the mother's back.

The larger cradles were kept after the child had outgrown them and, as long as they were in good repair, were used for younger infants of the proper sex. An infant girl would not be put on an older brother's former cradle, or vice versa.

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[105] Parallel diagonal lines signified a boy's cradle, zigzag a girl's, says Kroeber (Handbook, 536). Miss Thrall's information is in line with that from other Yokuts.--A.H.G.

[106] Miss Thrall has notes on the treatment of K.W. "He was teething and fretful, consequently he woke frequently, when he would be taken up in the cradle, bounced on the knee, and a general attempt made to soothe him. Lillian usually held him when not otherwise occupied. Sometimes Nancy (his grandmother), or Emma, or other older girls take over when Lillian must go elsewhere. Whenever the baby shows he is unhappy, he gets all the attention the older people can think of to give him, apparently. On the other hand, one attempt to quiet him is to put him back on the cradle soon after taking him up, or when he cries in arms. This seemed to have no effect, and frequently he was taken off again at once."

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
LP 249 a Western Mono NS25

W Y 535 was no special costume, no singers, no payment, and [inferentially] no women participants. The dancers were usually youths of eighteen to twenty years, though married or older men could join if they wished. About ten men would stand in a circle with a leader in the center. At his command each one sang and danced in turn. S.O. could not describe the songs or steps. There was no training or special knowledge for this: "a man just learned by watching."

Women's dance.---Both S.O. and B.O. agreed that there were no dances exclusively for women participants among the Michahai, Chukaimina, and Waksachi. B.O. pointed out that, "even when women danced with men, the latter outnumbered them."

W Y 535 522 Coyote clowning.---Coyote clowning which, according to S.O., constituted a coda or accompaniment to any kind of ritual celebration, was associated with a lineage having Coyote as its totem. The performers would be asked to various celebrations and they "had to go" although they were paid for the service. The best Coyote dancers came from the Wukchumni, among whom the most notable performer was a Gawia, Ka´osana;[194] there was another at Squaw Valley whose name was not recalled. At the village of Tušao "there was no one who knew how to do it right but they'd get in and play too if they felt like it." The informant so strongly sensed the obscenities of the clowning that he not only refused to describe the behavior, but was reluctant to discuss the matter at all. He said the performers had large circles of black, white, and red paint on their faces. They "danced around" outdoors, never entering houses.

W Y [831]

Shamans' Contest

W Y 756 789 This performance was not a Waksachi or Michahai institution and, if given in connection with the Annual Mourning Ceremony or at any other time, was presented by outsiders who were hired to make the spectacle. Both S.O. and B.O. had seen it at Tušao but not at Čitatu. S.O. described it.

Two fires were made by local winatums who assisted the shamans and were paid both by them and by their chiefs for so doing. A group of five or six singers sat at one side, but sang for the benefit of all contestants. At this time they were called a ´ntahum ile´hič (doctors' singers). As accompaniment they used the cocoon rattle (čao:č) and clapper (ta´oh:l).

Normally the chief responsible (the host) would have his winatums ask for an exhibit of airshot by each entrant to assure their capacity as fit participants. The airshot which was visible (tusa´š) "looked like little white

[194] Henry Aichow's father-in-law. See M.L.'s account for the Wukchumni.

W Y 796 668

"We are having this dance, and we want to tell you what we have heard. Where we got these songs and dance one man told us about what is going to come.

"We are having this dance for a dead man. He is where we got these songs.[200] After a few more years this dead man is going to come from where we got these songs and dance. Right now that man is very far off, he is at watsatsa ˊošao pa ˊˊa nːm (the crack-in-the-world our home) way off to the east. There is a fire there all the time, playing [games], and dancing all the time. The people there disappear in the daytime. We are making this dance for those ghosts (i ˊnːl). You must do this all the time. Then there will be no more getting sick and dying."

W Y [775]

W Y [783]

Tapunači also told the people to swim or bathe themselves each morning. But no verbal ritual comparable to baptism was prescribed and, as morning bathing was customary with Yokuts and probably Western Mono, this was probably a reëmphasis of native custom.

Then the dance began with singers using songs which were meaningless to S.O. The only one he recalls is this:

he ˊbarːn, he ˊbaya, he ˊnani
[repeated over and over]

W Y [535]

Dancers of both sexes indiscriminately joined hands and, facing inwards, circled to the left [clockwise]. Never did they go in the opposite direction in this or any other dance. The arms were bent upward at the elbows, and the clasped hands beat downward at each step. The dancing continued until the company was exhausted, when they sat down to listen to a short exhortation by Takaš, Košowi, or one of the Wobonuch singers. The alternate dancing, preaching, and resting were continued from about eight o'clock in the evening until daylight. There was no sequence or climax to the routine, so far as S.O. knew. Although "any kind" of clothes were worn, all the participants had red and black paint on their faces. The common pattern was three horizontal lines (male) or rows of dots (female) across the cheeks and nose.

W Y [303] ● 83]

Eventually there were so many participants that two concentric circles of dancers were formed. The singers sat between two fires within the circle. When speakers addressed the company, they stood in front of the singers.

W Y [517]

During the day the people were free to play games or do as they pleased, but the majority were so tired that they merely bathed, slept, and lounged. This continued for six days.[201]

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[200] Presumably in the Land of the Dead where the Paiute originator of the cult may have journeyed in his trance, as did most prophets of such movements (see Spier, The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives).

[201] S.O. omitted any hint of the final routing of the dancers by white settlers, an episode of which I later learned elsewhere.